

THE
ACCUSATION, TRIAL, DEFENCE, SEN-
TENCE, AND EXECUTION,

OF

MARIE ANTOINETTE,

LATE QUEEN OF FRANCE.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

WITH

A PORTRAIT OF THE QUEEN.

EDINBURGH:

PRINTED FOR J. ELDER, T. BROWN, AND
WALTER BERRY.

1793.

1609/2687.



THE

ACCUSATION, &c.

“ ANTOINE QUENTIN FOUQUIER, Public accuser of the Criminal Revolutionary Tribunal, established at Paris, by a decree of the National Convention of the 10th of March 1793, second year of the Republic, without any recourse to the Tribunal of Cessation, in virtue of the power given him by the 11th article of another decree of the Convention of April 5 following, stating that the Public Accuser of the said Tribunal is authorised to arrest, pursue and judge upon the denunciation of the Constituted Authorities or of the Citizens, states:—

“ That by a decree of the Convention, of the 1st of August last, MARIE ANTOINETTE, widow of LOUIS CAPET, has been brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal, as accused of conspiring against France: that by another decree of the Convention, of October 3, it has been decreed that the Revolutionary Tribunal should occupy itself without delay, and without interruption, on the trial; that the Public Accuser received the papers concerning the widow Capet on the 19th and 20th of

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the first month of the second *decade*, commonly called the 11th and 12th of October of the present month; that one of the Judges of the Tribunal immediately proceeded to the interrogatories of the widow Capet: that an examination being made of all the pieces transmitted by the Public Accuser, it appears that, like Messaline, Brunchant, Predigonde, and Medicis, who were formerly qualified with the titles of Queens of France, whose names have ever been odious, and will never be effaced from the page of history—

“ Marie Antoinette, widow of Louis Capet, has, since her abode in France, been the scourge and the blood sucker of the French; that even before the happy Revolution which gave the French people their sovereignty, she had political correspondence with a man called the King of Bohemia and Hungary; that this correspondence was contrary to the interests of France; and not content with acting in concert with the brothers of Louis Capet, and the infamous and execrable Calonne, at that time Minister of the Finances; of having squandered the finances of France (the fruit of the sweat of the people) in a dreadful manner, to satisfy inordinate pleasures, and to pay the agents of her criminal intrigues, it is notorious that she has at different times transmitted millions to the Emperor, which served him, and still supports him to sustain a war against the Republic; and that it is by such excessive plunder that she has at length exhausted the national treasury.

“ That since the Revolution, the widow Capet has not for a moment withheld criminal intelligence and correspondence with foreign Powers, and in the interior of the Republic, by agents devoted to her, whom she subsidized and caused to be paid out of the treasury of the

ci-devant

ci-devant Civil List; that at various epochs she has employed every manœuvre that she thought consistent with her perfidious views to bring about a counter-revolution; first, having, under pretext of a necessary reunion between the *ci devant* gardes du corps, and the officers and foldiers of the regiment of Flanders, contrived a repast between these two corps on the first of October 1789, which degenerated into an absolute orgy as she desired, and during the course of which the agents of the widow Capet perfectly seconded her counter-revolutionary projects; brought the greater part of the guests, in the moment of inebriety, to sing songs expressive of their most entire devotion to the Throne, and the most marked aversion for the people; of having excited them insensibly to wear the white cockade, and to tread the national cockade under foot; and of having authorised, by her presence, all the counter-revolutionary excesses, particularly in encouraging the women who accompanied her, to distribute these white cockades among the guests; and having, on the 4th of the same month testified the most immoderate joy at what passed during these orgies.

“Secondly—Having in concert with Louis Capet directed to be distributed very plentifully throughout the kingdom publications of a counter-revolutionary nature, some of which were pretended to have been published by the conspirators on the other side of the Rhine, (meaning we suppose in Coblenz), such as—*Petitions to the Emigrants—Reply of the Emigrants—the Emigrants to the People—the shortest Pollies are the best—the Order of March—the return of the Emigrants*, and other such writings:—of having even carried her perfidy and dissimulation to such a height, as to have circulated writings in which she herself is described in very unfavourable colours, in
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order to cloak the imposture; thereby to make it to be believed to Foreign Powers that she was extremely ill treated by Frenchmen, to instigate them to go to war with France.

“ That in order to carry on her Counter-revolutionary designs with more efficacy, she, by means of agents, caused in Paris, towards the beginning of October 1789, a famine, which occasioned a new insurrection; in consequence of which, an innumerable crowd of citizens of both sexes set out for Versailles on the 5th of the said month; that this fact is proved beyond all contradiction, as the next day there was a plenty of every thing, even after the time that the Widow Capet arrived with her family in Paris.

“ That being scarcely arrived in Paris, the Widow Capet, fertile in intrigues of every kind, formed Committees, consisting of all the Counter-revolutionists and intriguers of the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies, which held their meetings in the dead of night; that plots were there formed how to destroy the Rights of Man, and the decrees already passed, which were to form the basis of the new Constitution; that it was at these Committees, or Meetings, that the necessary measures were deliberated to obtain a revision of those decrees which were favourable to the People; that the flight of Louis Capet, his Widow, and his whole family, was impeded, as they travelled under fictitious names, in the month of June 1791; that the Widow Capet confesses in her interrogatory, that it was she who opened and locked the door of the apartment through which the fugitives passed; that independent of the confession of the Widow Capet in this respect, it is confirmed by the testimony of Louis Charles Capet, and by his sister, that

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De la Fayette favoured all the designs of the Widow Capet, in the same manner as Bailly did while he was Mayor of Paris, and that both were present when the fugitives escaped, and favoured their flight as much as lay in their power. That the Widow Capet after her return from Varennes recommenced her intriguing Coteries, at which she herself presided; and that, aided by her favourite La Fayette, the gates of the Thuilleries were kept locked, which deprived the Citizens of the power of passing backwards and forwards in the Courts of the Thuilleries; that those only who had cards were permitted to pass. That this order was given out by La Fayette as a measure of punishment to the fugitives; though it served only as a trick to prevent the citizens from knowing of what passed at these midnight orgies, and from discovering the plots against Liberty carried on in this infamous abode.—That it was at these meetings that the horrible massacre which took place on the 17th of July 1791 was planned, when so many zealous patriots were killed in the Champ de Mars; that the massacre which had previously taken place at Nancy, as well as those which have since happened in different parts of the Republic, were ordered and determined on in these secret councils; that these insurrections, in which the blood of such an immense number of patriots has been spilt, were plotted in order the more expeditiously and securely to obtain a revision of the decrees passed and founded on the Rights of Man, which were so obnoxious to the ambition and counter-revolutionary views of Louis Capet and Marie Antoinette: that the Constitution of 1791 being once accepted, the widow Capet took every means in her power to destroy its energy by means of her manoeuvres; that she employed agents in different parts of
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the Republic to affect this object of annihilating liberty, and to make the French once more to fall beneath the tyrannic yoke under which they had languished for so many years; that for this purpose the Widow Capet ordered it to be discussed in these midnight meetings, which were truly called the Austrian Cabinet, how far it might not be possible to counteract the laws passed in the Legislative Assembly; that it was in consequence of these councils and her advice that Louis Capet was persuaded to oppose his *veto* to the famous and salutary decrees passed in the Legislative Assembly against the *ci devant* Princes, brothers of Louis Capet; against the Emigrants, and against that horde of refractory and fanatical priests who were spread all through France; a *veto* which has proved one of the principal causes of the evils which France has since experienced.

“ That it is the Widow Capet who caused perverse Ministers to be nominated, and placed her creatures in the armies and public offices, men who were known by the whole nation to be conspirators against liberty; that it was by her manœuvres and those of her agents, as able as they were perfidious, that she got a new guard formed for Louis Capet, composed of ancient officers who had quitted their corps, and had refused to take the constitutional oath; that she gave appointments to refractory priests and strangers; and in short, to all those who were disliked by the nation, and who were worthy of serving in the army of Coblenz, whither many of them fled after their being cashiered.

“ That it was the widow Capet, who, in conjunction with a scandalous faction, at that time domineered over the Legislative Assembly, and for some time over the Convention; who declared war against the King of Hungary

gary and Bohemia, her own brother ; that it was through her manœuvres and intrigues, at all times pernicious to France, that the French were obliged to make their first retreat from Flanders.

“ That it is the widow Capet who forwarded to the foreign Courts the plans of the campaign, and the attacks which were agreed upon in the Council ; so that, by means of this double treason, the enemies of France were always informed before hand of the movements of the armies of the Republic ; from whence it follows—that the widow Capet is the authorefs of all those reverses of fortune, which the armies of the Republic have experienced at different times.

“ That the widow Capet combined and plotted with her perfidious agents the horrible conspiracy which broke out on the day of the 10th of August ; which failed only through the courageous and incredible efforts of the patriots ; that to this end she seduced into her dwelling of the Thuilleries, and even into the subterraneous passages under it, Swiss soldiers, who, at the expiration of a decree then passed, were no longer to belong to the body guard of Louis Capet ; that she kept them in a state of drunkenness, from the 9th to the 10th in the morning, the day appointed for the execution of this horrible conspiracy ; that for the same purpose, she had reunited on the 9th a body of those beings known by the name of the Knights of the Dagger, who had figured away with the same infamous designs, and in the same place on the 28th of February 1791, and again on the 21st of June 1792.

“ That the widow Capet, fearing no doubt that this conspiracy might not have the promised effect, went on the evening of the 9th of August, at half after nine, in-

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to the room where the Swiss, and others in her interest, were busy making cartridges; that in order to excite them the more, she took up the cartouches and bit them.

“ That the next day, the 10th of August, she pressed and solicited Louis Capet to go to the Thuilleries at five in the morning, to review the *real* Swiss guards and those who had assumed their uniform; and at his return she presented him with a pistol, saying—‘ *This is the moment to shew yourself;*’ and on his refusing, she called him a coward.

“ That notwithstanding the Widow Capet denies having given any orders to fire on the people, her conduct on the 9th—her deeds in the room of the Swiss guards—the councils she held all the night long—the article of the pistol and her words to Louis Capet; their sudden retreat from the Thuilleries, and the firing on the people at that very moment he and she entered the room of the Legislative Assembly;—in one word, all these circumstances united, leave no doubt but that in her councils during the night it was resolved that the people must be fired at, and that Louis Capet and Marie Antoinette, the female director of that conspiracy, should themselves give the orders to fire.

“ That to the perfidious intrigues and manœuvres of the widow Capet, in confederacy with that infamous faction of which we have just spoken, and with all the enemies of the Republic, France is indebted for the *internal* war which has distressed her so long; but the end of which is fortunately not much more distant than that of its authors.

“ That at all times, the Widow Capet, by the influence she had acquired over Louis Capet, insinuated into
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him that perfidious and dangerous art of dissimulation, to promise by public acts the very contrary he intended to perform : and that they both in their midnight councils plotted the ruin of that liberty, so dear to Frenchmen [and which they will take care to preserve,] and to recover the *plenitude* of the Royal prerogatives.

“ That finally, the Widow Capet, in every respect immoral, and a *new Agrippina*, is so dissolute and so familiar with all crimes, that forgetting her quality of mother, and the limits prescribed by the law of nature, has not hesitated to prostitute herself with Louis Charles Capet, her son ; and according to the confession of the latter, she has committed indecencies with him, the very idea and name of which strikes the soul with horror.”

According to this report, the Public Accuser brings the above accusations against Marie Antoinette, qualifying herself in her interrogatory by the title of Lorraine and Austria, widow of Louis Capet ; and states.—

1st. “ That in conjunction with the brothers of Louis Capet and the infamous Ex-Minister Calonne, she squandered away, in a most horrid manner, the French finances : sent innumerable sums to the Emperor, and drained the National Treasury.

2d. “ That as well by herself, as by the aid of her counter-revolutionary agents, she kept up a correspondence with the enemies of the Republic, and informed, these enemies, or caused them to be informed of all the plans of campaigns and attacks resolved on and determined on in the Council.

3d. “ That through her intrigues and manœuvres, and those of her agents, she formed conspiracies and plots against the interior and exterior safety of France ; and to that effect kindled a civil war in divers provinces

of the Republic ; armed one citizen against another, and by these means spilled the blood of an incalculable number of citizens, contrary to the 6th article of the first section of the penal code, and to the 2d article of the second section of the same code.

“ In consequence of all which charges, the Public Accuser requests, that an act of the present accusation be given him by the Tribunal ; that it be ordained, that on his requisition, and through the channel of a Serjeant at Arms, Marie Antoinette, qualifying herself by the title of Lorraine and Austria, widow of Louis Capet, actually confined in the prison called the Conciergerie of the Palace, be entered on the Registers of the said prison, there to remain the same as in a house of justice, and that the sentence to be given shall be notified to the Municipality of Paris and to the accused.

“ Done in the chamber of the Public Accuser, the 1st day of the third decade of the first month of the 2d year of the French Republic, one and indivisible.

(Signed)

“ ANTOINE QUENTIN FOUQUIER.”

“ The Tribunal, in compliance with the request of the Public Accuser, grants him an act of the accusation by him made against Marie Antoinette, called of Lorraine and Austria, widow of Louis Capet, and orders that, agreeable to the said request, and through the means of a Serjeant at Arms, bearer of this Ordonnance, Marie Antoinette, widow of Louis Capet, shall be bodily arrested, and entered on the registers of the prison called the Conciergerie, where she is actually detained, there to remain, the same as in a house of justice ; and that

that the present ordonnance be notified to the Municipality of Paris, and to the accused.

“ Done and judged at the Tribunal, the 2d day of the 3d decade, of the first month of the 2d year of the Republic, by the citizens Armund-Martial, Joseph Herman, Etienne Foucalt, Gabriel ToufsaintSechellier, Pierre Andre Coffinhall, Gabriel de Liege, Pierre Louis Ragmay, Antoine Marie Maire, Francois Joseph Denizot, Etienne Macon; all judges of the Tribunal.”

The President said to the accused, after the act of accusation had been read—“ This is what you are accused of; lend an attentive ear; you are going to hear the charges laid against you.”

Laurent Lecointre, Deputy to the National Convention, deposed against the accused, for having formerly been the wife of the *ci-devant* King of France; and for being the person, who, at the time of her removal to the Temple, had charged him with a memorial to the Convention, in order to gain over 12 or 14 persons, whom she mentioned, to what she called her service. The Convention, on that occasion, passed to the order of the day, upon the ground that he should address himself to the Municipality.

The deponent then entered upon the detail of the festivals and orgies which took place at Versailles, from the year 1789; the result of which had been a dreadful dilapidation in the finances of France. The witness gave a detail of what preceded and followed the assemblies of the Notables, till the epochs of the opening of the States-General; the state of the generous inhabitants

tants of Versailles ; their grievous perplexities on the 23d of June 1789, when the artillery men of Nassau, whose artillery was placed in the stables belonging to the accused, refused to fire upon the people. At length, the Parisians having shaken off the yoke of tyranny, the revolutionary movement re-animated the energy of their brethren at Versailles. They formed the very hardy and courageous project of freeing themselves from the oppression of the despot, or of his agents. On the 28th of July, the citizens of Versailles formed a wish to organize themselves into National Guards, like their brethren of Paris. They nevertheless proposed to consult the King ; the negociator was the *ci-devant* Prince de Poix. Endeavours were made to prolong the matter ; but the organization having been made, the staff was appointed : D'Estaing was named Commandant General, and Gouvernet second in command.

Laurent Lecointre here entered into the detail of the facts which preceded and followed the arrival of the regiment of Flanders. The accused, on the 20th of September, sent for some officers of the National Guard, and made them a present of two colours ; a third remained, which they were told was destined for a battalion of pretended guards, paid for the avowed purpose, as it was declared, of relieving the inhabitants of Versailles, who were thus cajoled ; at the same time that it was affected to pity them, they in reality were abhorred.

On the 29th of September 1789, the National Guard gave a repast to its brave brethren, the foldiers of the regiment of Flanders. The public journals gave an account at the time, that at the repast of the citizens, nothing passed contrary to the principles of liberty ; but that the feast given October the 1st, by the Gardes du Corps,

Corps, had no other aim than to provoke the National Guard against the *ci-devant* soldiers of Flanders, and the Chasseurs des trois Eveches.

"The witness observed, that the accused appeared at this latter part with her husband; that they were loudly applauded there; that the air, *O Richard! O my King!* was played; that the health of the King and Queen was drunk, as well as that of her son; but that the health of the nation, which had been proposed, was rejected. After this orgy, they removed themselves to the castle of the *ci-devant* Court, called Marble; and there, in order to give the King a just idea of the manner in which they were disposed to defend the interests of his family, if occasion required it, a person named Perceval, aid de-camp to D'Estaing, mounted first; after him a grenadier of the regiment of Flanders; a third dragoon having also attempted to scale the said balcony, and not being able to succeed, would have destroyed it. With respect to the said Perceval, he took the cross with which he was decorated in order to give it to a grenadier, who like him had scaled the balcony of the *ci-devant* King.

Upon the request of the Public Accuser, the Tribunal ordered, that a mandamus should be issued to bring forth Perceval D'Estaing.

The witness added, that on the 3d of the same month of October, the Gardes du Corps gave a second repast. It was there that the most violent outrages were committed upon the National cockade, which was trodden under foot.

The deponent here detailed what happened at Versailles on the 5th and 6th of October, D'Estaing being informed of the movements which were making in Paris, went to the Municipality of Versailles in order to obtain

obtain permission to carry away the *ci-devant* King, who was then hunting, and who was entirely ignorant of what was passing; with a promise to bring him back when tranquility should be restored. The witness deposited upon the desk the pieces relative to the facts contained in his declaration, which were added to the process.

Jean Baptiste Lapierre, *ci-devant* Aide Major of the National Guard, deposed, that being on guard in the Chateau the 20th of June, 1791, the day of the flight to Varennes, he had heard a report, that the Aristocrats were to carry off the Queen and the Royal Family during the night, but that notwithstanding his vigilance he had seen nothing.

The Public Accuser—"By what quarter did you depart on the day that you fled?"

Queen—"By the door of the apartment of M. de Villequier."

Public Accuser—"Who opened that door?"

Queen—"It was I."

Public Accuser—"Were you on foot, or in a carriage, in crossing the Square du Carrouzel?"

Queen—"On foot."

Public Accuser—"Were Bailly and La Fayette informed of your departure?"

Queen—"No."

Public Accuser—"Did you meet with La Fayette as you were going away?"

Queen—"We saw him in his carriage in the Square du Carrouzel."

Public Accuser—"What o'clock was it?"

Queen—"Half past eleven at night."

Public Accuser—"Had you seen La Fayette that day?"

Queen—"I do not recollect."

Rafillon

Roussillon, ci-devant Judge of the Revolutionary Tribunal—"All the facts contained in the Act of Accusation are of such Public notoriety that it is unnecessary to spend time on them. If my fullest conviction can be of any weight, I will not hesitate to affirm, that I am fully persuaded that this woman is guilty of the greatest crimes; that she has always conspired against the liberty of the French People. The following is a circumstance which I have to relate to you:—On the 10th of August, I was present at the siege of the Chateau of the Tuilleries. I saw under the bed of Marie Antoinette full or empty bottles, from which I concluded that she had herself distributed wine to the Swiss soldiers, that these wretches in their intoxication might assassinate the people." Roussillon then declared, that his intention, and that of the other Patriots was, after having inflicted justice on the Etat Major of the Swiss Guard, to proceed to the Convention, to sacrifice the Royal Family, who had taken refuge there. "We met," added he, "Brissot and Guadet, who conjured us not to commit that political crime. I say, political crime, for it can never surely be a crime in morals to rid the earth of tyrants."

President—"Have you any observations to make, Marie Antoinette?"

Queen—"I am not acquainted with that Gentleman. I do not know what he means."

Herbert, Substitute of the Procureur of the Commune.

"As a Member of the Commune of the 10th of August, I have been obliged to discharge with the prisoners of the Temple, several functions, which have given me an opportunity of being convinced of the spirit of rebellion against the National Authority, which animated those prisoners. This assertion I will prove by facts.

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Upon an examination of the effects of Marie Antoinette there was found in her pocket a copy of the Ritual. In the leaves of this book was a sort of image, the emblem employed by the Counter-revolutionists. On this image was a heart, with this inscription, *Cor Jesu miserere nobis.* There was found with Madame Elizabeth a hat which she said belonged to Louis Capet, though he had only one, which was in his chamber. I proceed to facts more important. The true *Sans Culotte*, Simon, requested me to come to the Temple, as he had something to communicate, I went. Simon then told me, "I surprised little Capet alone, in the commission of acts very unnatural." Astonished to see an infant so early instructed in crimes, I asked who had been his instructors? He answered with all the ingenuousness and candour of his age, that he had been taught by his mother and his aunt. "I will not fully your ears," added Herbert, "by reporting the obscenities which this infant has recited. I will merely tell you that there subsisted an incestuous intercourse with his mother and his aunt; that the young Capet contracted a rupture, in consequence of the debaucheries, in which they had initiated him. I cannot believe, Citizen Jurors, that the sole pleasure of sense induced these murdering Messalinas to be guilty of these excesses. Marie Antoinette had nothing else in view than to enervate by debauchery the infant, whom she expected one day to become a King, that she might govern at her own pleasure, and perpetrate, under the sanction of a debilitated tyrant, all the crimes of another Medicis. I must not forget to remind you, that since the death of Louis Capet, the infant was regarded by his mother and his aunt as King of the Temple. At table he sat at the upper end.

end. They paid him respect and homage, and always walked behind him."

President—"What have you to answer?"

Queen—"I answer that the picture found in the Ritual was no emblem of a Counter-revolution, but a simple figure of devotion, which had been given to my daughter. As to the hat, my sister assured me, that her brother had given it her when he had been provided with a new one. As to my son, Mr Herbert ought to know that a mother always gives her children a preference to herself." To the other parts of his deposition the Queen made no answer.

Public Accuser—"Did not Citizen Michonis bring along with him into the prison an individual who let drop a pink, in which was inclosed a billet?"

Queen—"The fact is true."

Public Accuser—"Who was the man who delivered to you this billet?—Did you know him?—What is his name?—What were the contents of the billet?—Did you answer it?"

Queen—"His name I do not recollect.—The contents of the billet were, that he had been thrown into prison, but had found means to extricate himself; that he offered me money; and that he would return the Friday following.—I answered by pricking upon a paper with a pin, that my guards never suffered me to be out of their sight, so that I had no opportunity to write or communicate with any person."

Public Accuser—"Why were you startled upon seeing this individual?"

Queen—"Because I was alarmed at the danger which he ran in getting into my prison."

The Tribunal was going to proceed to hear another

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witness, when one of the Jury requested the President to demand of the accused to answer with respect to the crimes, the proof of which rested on the declarations of the young Capet.

Queen—"I remained silent on that subject, because nature holds all such crimes in abhorrence!" Then turning with an animated air to the people—"I appeal to all mothers who are present in this Auditory—Is such a crime possible?"

The *ci-devant* Count de Estaing, and Citizen Percival being implicated by the deposition of Laurent Lecointre, the Tribunal issued a mandate to bring up these two individuals.

Abraham Sill, Notary, deposed, that being on duty in the *ci-devant* palace of the Thuilleries, on the night of the 20th June, the accused came to him about six o'clock in the evening, and said that she wished to walk with her son; that he charged the *Sieur* Laroche to accompany her; that some time after he saw La Fayette come five or six times to Gouvion; that the latter about ten o'clock gave orders to shut the gates, excepting that looking into the Court called the Court of the *ci-devant* Princes; that on the morning, Gouvion entered the apartment where the deponent was, and said to him, rubbing his hands with an air of seeming satisfaction, *They are gone*; that he delivered to him a packet, which he carried to the Constituent Assembly, for which Citizen Beauharnois, the President, gave him a receipt.

The President. At what hour of the night did La Fayette quit the palace?

The Witness. At midnight within a few minutes.

The President, to the Accused. At what hour did you depart?

A.

A. I have already said, at three quarters past eleven.

Q. Did you depart along with Louis Capet ?

A. No, he departed before me.

Q. How did he depart ?

A. On foot, by the great gate.

Q. And your children ?

A. They departed an hour before, with their Gouvernefs ; they waited for us in the square of the Petit Carrouzel.

Q. What was the name of the Gouvernefs ?

A. De Tourzell.

Q. Who were the persons along with you ?

A. The three Gardes-du-Corps who accompanied us, and who returned with us to Paris.

Q. How were they dressed ?

A. In the same manner as at their return.

Q. And how were you dressed ?

A. I wore the same robe as at my return.

Q. How many persons were there apprized of your departure ?

A. There were only the three Gardes-du-Corps at Paris, who were acquainted with it ; but on the road Bouille had placed troops to protect our departure.

Q. You said that your children departed an hour before you, and that the *ci-devant* King departed alone ; who then accompanied you ?

A. One of the Gardes-du-Corps.

Q. Did you not at your departure meet La Fayette ?

A. I saw, as I was departing, his carriage passing along the Carrouzel, but I took care not to speak to him.

Q. Who furnished you, or caused you to be furnished,

ed, with the famous carriage in which you departed with your family ?

A. A Foreigner.

Q. Of what nation ?

A. A Swede.

Q. Was it not Ferseu, who resided at Paris rue de Bacq ?

A. Yes.

Q. Why did you travel under the name of a Russian Baroness ?

A. Because it was impossible in any other way to get out of Paris.

Q. Who procured you the passport ?

A. It was demanded by a foreign Minister.

Q. Why did you quit Paris ?

A. Because the king was desirous to go from it.

First and private interrogatory of Marie Antoinette of Austria before one of the judges of the Revolutionary Tribunal, previous to her public trial.

We, Amant-Martial-Joseph Hamart, President of the Revolutionary Tribunal, established by the Law of March 10. 1793, without the jurisdiction of the Tribunal of Cashiering, invested with powers delegated to the Tribunal by the Law of April 5th of the year before mentioned, assisted by Nicolas Joseph Fabricius, Clerk of the Tribunal, in the presence of Anthony Quentin Fouquier, Public Accuser, ordered to be brought before us, from the Prison of the Conciergerie, Marie Antoinette, Widow Capet, whom we asked her names, age, profession, country, and place of abode.

*Answer—*She answered, that her name was Marie Antoinette

toinette of Lorraine and Austria, 38 years of age, widow of the King of France.

Q. Which was the place of her abode at the moment of her arrest?

A. That she had not been arrested, but that they came to take her in the National Assembly, and conducted her to the Temple.

Q. Had you, previously to the Revolution, any political connections with the King of Bohemia and Hungary; and were not those connections contrary to the interests of France, which loaded you with benefits?

A. That the King of Bohemia and Hungary was her brother; that the connections she had with him were only those of consanguinity, but not of a political nature; those connections could only have been to the advantage of France, to which she was attached by the Family into which she married.

Q. It was remarked to her, that, not contented with dilapidating in a shocking manner the finances of France, the fruit of the sweats of the People, for the sake of her pleasures and intrigues, in concert with infamous Ministers, she had sent to the Emperor thousands of millions, to serve against the Nation which had fostered her.

A. Never; that she knows that this mean has frequently made subservient against her; that she loved her husband too much to dilapidate the money of his Country; that her brother did not want money from France; and that from the same principles which attached her to this country, she would not have given him any.

Q. Observed, that since the Revolution, she has not ceased an instant to carry on manœuvres with the Foreign Powers, and within this Country, against liberty,
even

even at a period when we only had the image of that Liberty which the French Nation absolutely wishes for ?

A. That since the Revolution she has forborne all foreign correspondence ; that she never meddled in domestic concerns.

Q. Whether she did not employ some secret agent to correspond with the Foreign Powers, chiefly with her Brothers ; and if De Lessart was not this principal agent ?

A. Never in her life.

Q. Observed, that her answer does not appear exact to us ; for it is notorious that there existed in the *ci-devant* Palace of the Thuilleries secret and nocturnal petty Councils, over which she herself presided, and in which were discussed, deliberated upon, and resolved, the answers to be made to the Foreign Powers, and those to the successive Constituent and Legislative Assemblies.

A. That the preceding answer is very exact ; for the rumour of those Committees has constantly existed when it was intended to amuse and deceive the People ; that she never knew such a Committee ; that it has not existed.

Q. Observed, that it appears, however, that when there was a question to know if Louis Capet should sanction or affix his *Veto* to the Decree issued in the course of November 1791, concerning his Brothers, the Emigrants, and the refractory and fanatical Priests, she, in despite of the most urgent representations of Duranton, then Minister of Justice, had brought Louis Capet to the determination of affixing his *Veto* to those Decrees, the sanction of which would have prevented the ills which France has since suffered, and which evidently proves that she assisted at the Councils and petty Councils ?

A.

A. That in the month of November, Duranton was not Minister ; that in other respects her spouse did not require to be urged to do that which he believed to be his duty ; that she was not of the Council ; and that only there affairs of that description were transacted and decided.

Q. Observed, that it was she who taught Louis Capet that art of profound dissimulation by which he had too long deceived the kind French Nation, who did not suppose that perfidy and villany could be carried to such a degree.

A. Yes, the People have been deceived—cruelly deceived ! but it was neither by her nor her Husband.

Q. By whom, then, has the People been deceived ?

A. By those who felt it their interest ; that it had never been theirs to deceive them.

Q. Observed, that she did not answer directly the question ?

A. That she would answer it directly if she knew the names of the persons.

Q. Observed, that she was the principal instigatrix to the treason of Louis Capet ; that it was by her advice, and perhaps by her importunities and teasing that he resolved to fly France, to put himself at the head of the furious men who wished to tear his country.

A. That her husband did not wish to quit France ; that she followed him on his journey ; that she would have followed him every where ; but that if she had known that he wanted to quit his country she would have employed all possible means to dissuade him ; but that he had no such intention.

Q. What, then was the purposed end of the journey known by the name of Varennes ?

A.

A. To procure himself that Liberty which he could not enjoy here in the eyes of any person ; and to conciliate thence all parties, for the happiness and tranquillity of France.

Q. Why did you travel at that period by the borrowed name of a Russian Baroness ?

A. Because we could not get out of Paris without changing name.

Q. If, among other persons who favoured her escape, La Fayette, Bailly, and Renard, the Architect, were not of the number ?

A. That the two former would have been the last they would have employed ; that the third person was then under their orders, but that they never employed him for that purpose.

Q. Represented, that her answer was contradictory to declarations of the persons who fled with her ; and that it resulted from them, that the carriage of La Fayette, at the moment when all the Fugitives came down stairs through the apartment of a woman in her service, was in one of the Court-yards ; and that La Fayette and Bailly were upon the watch, while Renard directed their route ?

A. That she does not know what declarations might have been made by the persons who were with her ; that all she knows is, that she met on the square of Carrouzel the carriage of La Fayette ; but that she went on her way, and was far from stopping it ; that with regard to Renard, she could assure us that he did not direct the march ; that she alone opened the door, and made every body go out.

Q. Observed, that from this confession, of her having opened the door, and let out every body, there remains

mains no doubt that she directed Louis Capet in all his actions, and made him resolve to fly.

A. That she did not believe that the opening of a door could prove that a person directs the actions of another; that her spouse desiring and thinking himself obliged to go out thence with his children, it was her duty and her assent; and that she was to do every thing to render his going out safe.

Q. Observed, that she never concealed for a moment her desire of destroying Liberty; that she wanted to reign at any rate, and re-ascend the Throne upon the corpses of the Patriots.

A. That they did not want to re-ascend the Throne; that they were upon it; that they never had any other desire but the happiness of France. Be it happy; be it but happy! they would always be contented!

Q. Represented, that if such had been her sentiments, she would have used her influence over the mind of her brother, to induce him to break the treaty of Pilnitz, concluded between him and William—a treaty, the sole end of which has been, and is, to associate with all the Powers to annihilate that Liberty which the French shall have in despite of that Coalition, and those Treasons.

A. That she only knew that treaty after it had been concluded; that it had long been of no effect; that it ought to be observed that the foreign powers were not the first aggressors of France.

Q. Represented, that it is true that the Foreign Powers had not declared war; but that she ought not to be ignorant, that this declaration of war has only been occasioned by a liberticide Faction, the authors of which

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will

will soon receive the just punishment which they deserve.

A. That she does not know whom we meant to speak of; but that she knows that the Legislative Assembly had reiterated the demand of the declaration of war, and that her husband consented to it, with the unanimous advice of the members of his Council.

Q. You have held a correspondence with the *ci-devant* French Princes since their quitting France, and with the Emigrants; you have conspired with them against the safety of the State.

A. She never held any correspondence with any Frenchmen abroad; that with respect to her brothers, she might possibly have written them one or two insignificant letters; but she does not believe she has; and recollects having often refused to do so.

Q. Does she recollect to have said on the 4th of October 1789, that she was enchanted with the day of the first of that month, a day remarkable for the orgies of the Gardes-du-Corps, and the Regiment of Flanders, who in the moment of inebriety, expressed their attachment to their Throne, and their aversion for the People, trode the National cockade under foot, and put on the white cockade.

A. She does not recollect saying any such thing; but that it is possible she may have said, that she was touched with the first sentiment that animated this festival; that as to the rest of the question, drunkenness was not necessary to make the Gardes-du-Corps testify attachment and devotion to persons in whose service they were. With respect to the affair of the cockade, if it existed, it could only be the error of a few, who now disapprove it; but that it was impossible that persons so attached,

attached, should tread under foot, and wish to change an emblem which the King himself then wore.

Q. What interest did she take in the success of the armies of the Republic?

A. The happiness of France is what she desires above all things.

Q. Do you think that Kings are necessary to the happiness of the people?

A. An individual could not positively decide such a matter.

Q. You regret, without doubt, that your son has lost a throne which he might have ascended, if the people at length enlightened upon their true rights, had not themselves crushed that throne?

A. She shall never regret any thing for her son so long as her country be happy.

Q. What is your opinion of the 10th of August, when the Swiss by order of the Master of the castle in the Thuilleries, dared to fire upon the people?

A. She was not in the Castle when they began to fire; she only knows that no order was ever given to fire.

Q. Have you not, during your residence in the Temple, been exactly informed of political affairs, and have you not kept up a correspondence with the enemies of the Republic, by means of some municipal officers who were in your service, or by some person introduced by them into your habitation?

A. During the time that she has been confined, she has had neither news, nor knowledge of any political affairs, which it was impossible for her to receive; that since the beginning of October, pen, paper, and pencil had been taken from her; that she has never addressed

any

any municipal officer, which there is reason to believe would have been ineffectual; and that she has seen none other than them.

Q. Your answer is contradictory to the declarations made by the persons who dwelt in the same place.

A. Not many persons lived in the Temple, and those who declare any thing of the kind, dare not prove it.

Q. While she was at the Conciergerie, were not several persons introduced into her apartment?—Did not one of them drop a carnation in which was a writing? and was it not she who took up this carnation, after repeated signs had been made to her by the same person?

A. Different persons entered her chamber, but with the Administrators of the Police; she did not know them at all; it is true a carnation was dropped, as she had before declared, but that she paid so little attention to the circumstance, that but for the signs, she should not have taken it up; and that she did so fearing only that the person who threw it down might be exposed if it were found.

Q. Did you not recollect this person as having been at the Castle of the Thuilleries on the 20th of June, and as having been one of those who remained with you on that day?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you not recollect the same person to have been at the Thuilleries on the 10th of August?

A. No.

Q. Do you know her name?

A. No, she does not recollect of having ever known it.

Q. Observe; it is strange that you should not know her

her name, for the person said, that you had rendered her great services, which is seldom the case without knowing the person who is the object, in a manner more or less particular. :

A. It is possible that those who have rendered services may forget them, and that those who have received them may recollect them.

Q. Has she replied to the billet found in the carnation?

A. She endeavoured with a pin; not with a view to answer her, but to engage her not to come there in case she should again present herself.

Q. Does she recollect the answer?

A. Yes.

Q. Has she produced the billet intended for a reply and pricked with a pin?

A. She has acknowledged it.

Q. Did she make a particular motion at the time when the person presented herself?

A. Not having seen any known face for thirteen months, she was a little startled at first from the idea of danger incurred by coming into her chamber, afterwards she thought she might be employed somewhere; and then was easy.

Q. What do you mean by the two last expressions?

A. As several people whom she did not know came to her with the Administrators, she thought that this person might be employed in some place at the Sections or elsewhere; and in that case did not run any danger.

Q. Did the Administrators of the Police often bring people with them?

A. They were almost always accompanied by one, two, or three unknown persons.

Q.

Q. Who were the Administrators that came most frequently?

A. Michonis, Michael, Jobert, and Marino.

Q. Did these four Administrators always bring persons unknown to you?

A. She believed so, but does not recollect.

Q. Has she any thing to add upon these different answers—has she no counsel?

A. No : because she knows not any one.

Q. Does she wish us to name her one or two counsellors?

A. She does.

After which two Advocates belonging to the Office were named ; they are the Citizens Troufon Ducoudray, and Chauveau Delagarde.

The present interrogatory having been read to her, she declared that it contained the truth ; that she had nothing to add or to retract ; that she persisted in what she had said, and has signed with us, the said Public Accuser and Register,

(Signed)

MARIE ANTOINETTE, HERMAN,
FOUQUIER, and J. N. FABRICIUS.

Pierre Joseph Terrasson, employed in the office of the Minister of Justice, deposed, that upon the return from Varennes, being upon the steps of the *ci-devant* palace of the Thuilleries, he saw the accused come out of the carriage and throw upon the National Guards who escorted her, and likewise upon the other Citizens who were in her way as she passed along, a most vindictive glance ; which suggested to him, the deponent, the idea that she would certainly take an opportunity of revenge ; in reality, some time after the scene of the Champ-de-Mars took

took place. He added, that Duranthon, who was Minister of Justice, with whom he had been intimately acquainted at Bourdeaux, as they had there exercised together the same profession, said to him that the accused opposed the King's giving his sanction to different decrees, but that he hath represented to her that this affair was of more importance than she thought, and that it was even of the utmost urgency that these decrees should be speedily sanctioned; that this observation made an impression upon the accused, upon which the King gave his sanction.

President to the Accused. Have you any observations to make on the evidence of the deponent?

A. I have only to say, that I never assisted at the council.

Pierre Manuel, a man of letters, deposed that he knew the accused, but never had any connection with the family of Capet, except when he was Procureur of the Commune; that he went several times to the Temple, to carry into execution the decrees; as to the rest, he never had any particular conversation with the wife of the *ci-devant* King.

President to the Witness. You have been administrator of Police?—*Witness,* Yes.

President. In this situation you must have had some connection with the Court?—*Witness.* It was the Mayor who had the connection with the Court. For my own part, I was, I may almost say, always at la Force, where, from motives of humanity, I did as much good as possible to the prisoners.

President. Did Louis Capet at that time highly commend the Administration of the Police?—*Witness.* The Administration of Police was divided into five branches,
of

of which there was one of subsistence ; and it was upon this branch that Louis Capet bestowed so many commendations.

President. Have you any details to give with respect to the day of the 10th of June ?—*Witness.* On that day I did not quit my post, as the people might have been alarmed at not finding one of their principal Magistrates, I went into the garden of the Palace. I there spoke with different citizens, and discharged no Municipal function.

President. Tell what came within your knowledge with respect to what passed in the Palace in the night between the 9th and 10th of August ?—*Witness.* I did not chuse to quit the post where the people had placed me ; I remained all night at the bar of the Commune.

President. You were intimate with Petion ; he must have told you what passed ?—*Witness.* I was his friend both from the ties of office and esteem ; and if I had conceived him capable of deceiving the people, and of being a party in the Coalition of the Palace, he would have forfeited my esteem. He had, however, told me that those in the Palace were desirous of the 10th of August, in order to re-establish the royal authority.

President. Do you know that the Masters of the Palace had given orders to fire upon the people ?—*Witness.* I knew it from the Commandant of the Post, an excellent Republican, who came to inform me of it. Upon this, I immediately issued orders to the Commandant General of the armed force. And, as Procureur of the Commune, expressly forbade him to fire upon the people.

President.—How happens it that you, who have just declared that in the night of the 9th of August you ne-

President.—Why did you shew a degree of solicitude for the valets of the accused, in preference to the other prisoners?

prisoners? *A.* It is true, that at la Force the girl Tourzel believed her mother to be dead; the mother supposed the same of the daughter, guided by a principle of humanity, I brought them together.

President. Did not you hold correspondence with Elizabeth Capet?—*A.* No.

President to the Accused. Had you ever any particular conversation with the witness in the Temple?—*A.* No.

Jean Silvain Bailly, a man of letters deposed, that he never had any intercourse with the family formerly called Royal; he protests that the facts contained in the act of accusation, touching the declaration of Louis Capet, are absolutely false: he observed on that head, that some days before the flight of Louis, when the rumour of his flight was spread, he communicated the intelligence to La Fayette, recommending him to take all necessary measures on that subject.

President to the Witness. Were you not connected with Palloret and Roederer, Ex-procureur General Syndics of the department?—*A.* I had no connection with them except what related to the magistracy.

President. Was it not you who in conjunction with La Fayette, founded the club known by the name of 1789?—*Witness.* I was not the founder; and I only belonged to it because some Britons, who were my friends, were members. I was invited, and told it would only cost me five louis, which I gave, was admitted, and have never since been present but at two dinners.

President. Have you not assisted at the conciliabules, held at the house of the *ci-devant* La Rochefoucault?

Witness. I never heard any mention of conciliabules; such may have existed, but I never was at them.

President.

President. If you held no conciliabules, why when by the decree of the 19th of June, 1790. the Constituent Assembly desired to convey the loud testimony of a grateful nation to the conquerors of the Bastille, and reward their courage and zeal by placing them in a distinguished manner among their brethren in the Champ de Mars, on the day of the federation; why, I say, did you excite quarrels between them and their brethren in arms, the former French Guards, and afterwards act the weeper before their Assembly, and induce them to reject the gratification with which they had been honoured?

Witness. I went, at the request of their leaders, for the purpose of reconciling the parties. It was one of them who made the motion to return the decorations with which they had been honoured by the Constituent Assembly, and not I.

President. Those who made the motion having been discovered to be your spies, the brave conquerors did themselves justice by expelling them.—*Witness.* There were strange mistakes concerning that affair.

President. Were not you active in favour of the journey to St Cloud, in the month of April; and did you not, in concert with La Fayette, solicit from the department, the order to hoist the red flag?—*Witness.* No.

President. Were you informed that the late king concealed in the palace a considerable number of refractory priests?—*Witness.* Yes, I even went to the king at the head of the Municipality, to petition him to dismiss the priests that had not taken the oaths.

President. Can you tell the names of those residents in the palace, who were known by the title of Knights of the Dagger?—*Witness.* Not one.

President.

President. At the time of the revision of the Constitution of 1791, were not you connected with the Lameths, Barnave, Désmeunier, Chapellier, and other famous combined revisors, or rather men bribed by the Court to strip the people of their real rights, and leave them only the shadow of freedom?—*Witness.* La Fayette was reconciled to the Lameths, but I had no reconciliation to effect, for I had never been intimate with them.

President. It appears that you were very intimate with La Fayette, and that your opinions were much the same?—*Witness.* My intimacy with him related to his office; and, as to the rest, my opinion was at that time the general one.

President. You say you have never been present at any conciliabule; but how did it happen that, at the moment when you appeared before the Constituent Assembly, Charles Lameth drew the answer he made you ready written from under his desk? That proved the existence of a criminal coalition.—*Witness.* The National Assembly, by a decree, had sent for the constituted authorities: I went up with the members of the department and the public accusers. I did no more than receive the orders of the Assembly, and was not the speaker. It was the President of the department who pronounced the discourse on the occasion.

President. Did you likewise receive the orders of Antoinette to massacre the best patriots?—*Witness.* No; I did not go to the Champ de Mars till after an arret of the council general of the Commune.

President. The patriots assembled in the Champ de Mars with the permission of the Municipality; they had made their declaration to the register, and had obtained their

their receipt. Why did you hoist against them the infernal red flag?—*Witness.* The Council came to their resolution in consequence of two men having been murdered in the Champ de Mars. The succeeding accounts were more and more alarming; the Council was deceived, and determined to employ an armed force.

President. Were not the people on the contrary, deceived by the Municipality? Was it not the Municipality that provoked the assembling of the people, in order to collect the best patriots together, and have them murdered?—*Witness.* No, certainly.

President. What did you do with the dead; that is, the patriots who were assassinated?—*Witness.* The Municipality having drawn up the process verbal, transported the dead to the court of the military hospital, at Gros-Caillou, where most of them were owned.

President. How many were they?—*Witness.* The number was ascertained, and rendered public in the proces-verbal, which was published at the time by the Municipality; there might be twelve or thirteen.

One of the Jury. I wish to inform the Court, that being on that day at the Champ de Mars with my father, at the time the massacre began, I saw seventeen or eighteen persons, of both sexes killed near the river where we stood. We could only escape death ourselves by wading up to the chin.

Witness—was silent.

President to the Accused. What was the number of Priests you had in the palace?—*Accused.* We had none about our persons but the Priests who said mass.

President. Had they taken the oaths?—*Accused.* The law allowed the King to choose whom he pleased.

President.

President. What was the subject of conversation with Barnave and Petion, on the return from Varennes to Paris?—*Accused.* A variety of different things.

John Baptiste Hibain, alias Perceval, formerly a game-keeper, and now employed at the manufactory of arms, says, "That, being at Versailles, on the 1st of October, 1789, he knew at the time, of the first feast of the Gardes du Corps, but was not present at the same. That on the 5th of the same month, in his capacity of Aid-de-Camp to the *ci-devant* Count d'Estaing, he acquainted the latter that some commotions had happened at Paris, of which d'Estaing took no notice; that the same afternoon, the crowd having considerably increased, he spoke to d'Estaing a second time, but that he would not so much as hear him."

The witness next entered into a detail of the arrival of the Parisians at Versailles between 11 and 12 at night.

President. Did you not wear a decoration at that period?—*Witness.* I wore the Ribbon of the order of Limbourg, of which I had, like any one that wished to have it, bought the Brevet for 1500 livres.

President. Were not you, after the disorderly feast of the Gardes du Corps, in the Court of Marble, and were you not one of the first that scaled the balcony of the *ci-devant* King?—*Witness.* I came to the feast of the Guards when it was nearly finished, and as they went to the Palace I accompanied them thither.

President to Witness Lecointre. Inform the Tribunal what you know relating to the present witness. *Lecointre.* I know that Perceval scaled the balcony of the *ci-devant* King, that he was followed by a Grenadier of the Regiment of Flanders, and that being arrived at the apartment

partment of Louis Capet, Perceval embraced the said Grenadier, in the presence of the Tyrant, saying, "There is no more regiment of Flanders, we are all of us Royal Guards." A dragoon from the regiment des Trois E-veches, having attempted unsuccessfully to follow them, was going to destroy himself.

The witness observed, that he did not speak to the above fact as an eye witness, but that Perceval, the evidence present, had at the time entrusted it to him, Lecointre, in confidence, and he found it afterwards to be strictly true. He, in consequence, desired the President to require Perceval to declare, whether or not he remembers having related at the time the above circumstance to him, the witness.—*A.* I remember having seen citizen Lecointre; I even believe that I acquainted him with the history of the balcony. I know he was, on the 5th and 6th of October, Commander of the National Guards, in the absence of d'Estaing, who had absconded.

Lecointre maintained his deposition as strictly true.

Rene Millot, a servant maid, deposed, that having in 1788, lived as a servant at the Grand Commune at Versailles, she asked one day the *ci-devant* Count Coigny, in a moment of good humour: "Will the Emperor still continue to wage war against the Turks. Surely that must ruin France, on account of the immense sums the Queen sends her brother for that purpose, which must at least amount to 200 millions?" "Thou art right enough, answered the Count, "It has cost already more than 200 millions, and we are not at the end of it yet." "I know further," says the witness, that happening to be after the 23d of June 1789, in a place where some guards of Artois and some officers of hussars were present,

tent, I heard the former say, at the time the massacre of the French Guards was in agitation, *every one must be at his post and do his duty*. But that the French Guards having been informed of the business intended against them, cried out, *To Arms!*—Which defeated the project entirely.”

“ I further observe, (continues the witness), that I have been informed by divers persons, that the prisoner had formed a plan to assassinate the Duke of Orleans. The King being acquainted therewith, ordered her to be instantly searched; on which two pistols were found on her. The king, in consequence, had her confined a prisoner in her own room during a fortnight.

Prisoner. It is possible I might have received an order from my husband to remain a fortnight in my apartment, but it was not for a case similar to the above.

Witness. I know further, that in the first days of October, 1789, some ladies of the Court distributed white cockades to divers persons at Versailles.—*Prisoner.* I remember having heard, that one or two days after the feast of the Body Guards, some women distributed these cockades, but neither I nor my husband were the authors of similar disorders.

President. What steps did you pursue to punish these women, after you were acquainted with this circumstance?—*Prisoner.* None at all.

Jean Baptiste Labenette deposes, that he is perfectly acquainted with a number of facts contained in the act of accusation; and he adds that three persons came to assassinate him, at the instigation of the prisoner.

President to the Prisoner. “ Did you ever read “*The Orator of the People*?”—*Prisoner.* No, never.

Francois du Fresne, Gen-d'Arme, deposes, that having

ing been in the room of the prisoner, at the time a pink was brought her; knows, that on the billet therein concealed the following words were written; *What are you doing here? we have men and money at your service.*

Magdelaine Rosny, wife of Richard, *et-devant* Keeper of the House of Arrest, in the Conciergerie of the Palace, deposes, That a Gen-d'Arme, named Gilbert, had told her, that the prisoner had received a hint from a person brought there by Michonis, Administrator of the Police which person had given her a pink, in which a billet was concealed; that considering that the said person might bring her, the witness into trouble, she acquainted Michonis thereof, who answered, That he would not introduce any other person to the Widow Capet.

Toussaint Richard declares, That he well knows the prisoner, from having been put under his guard since the 2d of October last.

Marie Devaux, wife of Arell, deposes, That having been with the prisoner during 41 days at the Conciergerie; and having neither seen nor heard any thing except a person coming one day with Michonis, who gave the prisoner a billet folded up in a pink; that she, the witness, was then working, and she saw the same person call again in the course of that day.—*Prisoner.* He came twice in the course of a quarter of an hour.

President. Who placed you near the Widow Capet?
A. Michonis and Jobert.

Jean Gilbert swore to the fact concerning the pink. He added that the accused complained to them (the Gens-d'Armes) of the victuals given to her, but that she would not complain to the administrators. That on

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this account she called Michonis, who was in the women's court with the person who brought the pink ; that Michonis having again gone up stairs, he heard the accused say to him, "I shall not then see you any more." "O pardon me," replied he, "I shall always be a Municipal officer, and in that quality I shall have a right to see you." The deponent observes, that the accused said she was under obligations to that person.—*Accused.* I am under no other obligation to him than that he was near me on the 20th of June.

Charles-Henri d'Estaing, formerly a naval and military officer in the service of France, declares, that he has known the accused ever since she came to France, and that he has even reason to complain of her ; but that he will nevertheless tell the truth, which is, that he has nothing to say respecting the facts alledged in the act of accusation.

President. Did you know that Louis Capet and his family were to leave Versailles on the 5th of October ?
A. No.

Q. Do you know that the horses were put to, and taken away several times ?—*A.* Yes, according to the advice which the court received ; but I must observe, that the National Guard would not have suffered that departure.

Did not you yourself cause horses to be taken out that day, in order that the Royal Family might escape ?
A. No.

Q. Do you know that carriages were stopped at the gate de l'Orangerie ?—*A.* Yes.

Q. Were you that day at the palace ?—*A.* Yes.

Q. Did you see the accused there ?—*A.* Yes.

Q. What did you hear at the palace ?—*A.* I heard the

the counsellors of the court tell the accused that the people of Paris were coming to massacre her, and that it was necessary she should depart. Upon which she replied, with great firmness, "If the Parisians come hither to assassinate me, I shall fall at the feet of my husband, but I will not betake myself to flight."

Accused. That is true; they wished to prevail on me to depart alone, because, they said, I only was exposed to danger. I returned the answer mentioned by the witness.

President, to the Witness. Have you any knowledge of the entertainments given to the *ci-devant* gardes-du-corps?—*A.* Yes.

Q. Do you know that they then cried out *Vive le Roi*, and *vive la Famille Royale*.—*A.* Yes. I know also that the Accused went round the table, leading her son in her hand.

President to the Accused. Did you not give entertainments also to the National Guards of Versailles on their return from Paris, where they had been to fetch muskets? *A.* Yes.

President to the Witness. Were you on the 5th of October, in your quality of Commandant General, at the head of the National Guards?—*A.* Do you wish me to answer respecting the morning or the afternoon?

President. From noon till two o'clock.—*A.* I was then at the Municipality.

Q. Was it not to obtain an order to accompany Louis Capet in his retreat, and to bring him back afterwards, as you said, to Versailles?—*A.* When I saw the King resolved to gratify the wishes of the National Guards at Paris, and that the Accused appeared even in the

the balcony of the King's apartment with her son, to announce to the people that she was going to set out with the King and his family for Paris, I requested leave of the Municipality to accompany them thither.

The Accused acknowledged that she appeared in the balcony to announce to the people that she was going to set out for Paris.

President to the Accused. You have asserted that you did not lead your son by the hand during the entertainment given to the Gardes-du-Corps.—*A.* I did not say so, but only that I do not think I heard the air, *O Richard, O mon Roi !*

President to the Witness Lecointre. Citizen, have you not said, in the deposition you made yesterday, that the deponent was not on the 5th of October at the head of the National Guards, where it was his duty to have been?—*A.* I affirm not only that d'Estaing was not from noon till two o'clock at the assembly of the National Guard, which took place on the 5th of October, but that he did not appear the whole day; that during that time he was indeed at the Municipality, that is to say, with that part of the Municipal officers who were sold to the court, and that he obtained from them an order, or power, to accompany the King in his retreat, on promise of bringing him back to Versailles as soon as possible. I observe besides, that the Municipal Officers betrayed their trust then in a double manner.

I. Because they ought not to have connived at a criminal manœuvre by favouring the flight of the late King.

II. To prevent the consequences, they took great care not to suffer in their minutes any evidence to remain

main that might formerly attest that this permission or power was given on purpose.

Witness. I observe to Citizen Lecointre, that he is mistaken, as the permission in question is dated the 6th, and it was only by virtue of this permission that I set out the same day, at 11 o'clock in the morning, to accompany the *ci-devant* King to Paris.

Lecointre. I maintain that I am not in an error in that respect. I remember very well that the original paper, which I deposited yesterday in the hands of the Register, contains in substance, that d'Estaing was authorised to employ conciliatory means with the Parisians, and in case of failure, to repel force by force. The citizen jurors will easily comprehend that these late dispositions can be applicable only to the day of the 6th, since the Court was then at the disposal of the Parisian army. I request the Public Accuser and the Tribunal to order that d'Estaing's letter, which I deposited yesterday, may be read, as it carries with it a proof of the facts of which I have spoken. This letter was read, and contained the following paragraph: "The last article of instruction given to me by our Municipality, on the 5th of this month, at four in the afternoon, enjoins me to do every thing in my power to bring the King back to Versailles as soon as possible.

President. Do you persist in saying that this permission was not delivered to you on the 5th of October?

A. I was mistaken respecting the date; I thought it was the 6th.

President. Do you recollect that the permission which you obtained authorised you to repel force, after trying in vain conciliatory measures?—*A.* Yes, I do recollect.

Another

the balcony of the King's apartment with her son, to announce to the people that she was going to set out with the King and his family for Paris, I requested leave of the Municipality to accompany them thither.

The Accused acknowledged that she appeared in the balcony to announce to the people that she was going to set out for Paris.

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Another

Another Witness was called.

Antoiner Simon, heretofore a shoe-maker, employed at present as the instructor of Charles Louis Capet, son of the Accused, declares, that he has known Antoinette since the 3d of August last, when he first mounted guard at the Temple.

The deponent observes, that during the time that Louis Capet and his family had liberty to walk in the garden of the Temple, they were informed of every thing that happened in Paris and in the interior of the Republic.

President. Have you any knowledge of the intrigues which took place at the Temple while the accused was there?—*A.* Yes.

Q. Who are the administrators who were in intelligence with her?—*A.* Little Capet declared to me, that Toulan, Petion, La Fayette, Lepitre, Bouguot, Michonis, Vincent, Manuel, Lebœuf, Dange, were the persons for whom his mother had the greatest predilection; and that the latter had taken him in his arms, and said to him in the presence of his mother, “I sincerely wish that you were in the place of your father.”—*Accused.* I have seen my son play at quoits in the garden with Dange; but I never saw the latter take him in his arms.

President. Do you know that while the administrators were with the accused and her sister-in-law, little Capet and his sister were shut up in a turret?—*Witness.* Yes.

Q. Do you know that little Capet was treated as a king, especially when at table?—*A.* I know that his mother and aunt gave precedence to him at table.

President to the Accused. Have you written to Polignac since your imprisonment?—*A.* No.

Q.

2. Have you not signed orders for receiving money from the Treasurer of the Civil List?—*A.* No.

Public Accuser. I observe to you, that your denial will become useless in a moment or two: orders signed by your own hand have been found among the papers of Septeuil. Two papers, indeed, which were deposited in the hands of the Committee of twenty-four, are at present mislaid, that commission being dissolved, but you will hear the witnesses who saw them.

Francois Tiffet, a merchant, Ruè de la Barillerie, employed without a salary at the epoch of the 10th of August, 1792, in the Committee of Safety of the Municipality, deposes, that having been charged with a mission to the house of Septeuil, treasurer of the *ci devant* civil list, he caused himself to be accompanied by the armed force of the Section de la Place Vendome, now called des Piques; that he could not seize the person of Septeuil, because he was absent; but that he found in the house Boucher, treasurer of the civil list, as well as Morillon and his wife, whom he conducted to the house of the Mayor; that among Septeuil's papers were found two orders for the sum of 80,000 livres, signed Marie Antoinette, and a note for two millions, signed Louis, and payable at the rate of 110,000 livres per month, at the house of Laporte of Hambourg; and that there were found also a great number of notes of several payments made to Farras and others, a receipt signed Bouille for the sum of 900,000 livres, and another of 200,000 livres; which papers were all deposited in the hands of the commission of twenty four, which is at present dissolved.

Accused. I desire that the witness will mention the dates of the orders of which he speaks?

Witness.

Witness. One of them was dated August 10th, 1792. The date of the other I do not recollect.

Accused. I never gave such orders, and how could I give any on the 10th of August, when we went at eight o'clock in the morning to the National Assembly.

President to the Accused. Did you not, that day, when in the box of the Logographe, in the Legislative Assembly, receive money from those who were around you? —*A.* It was not in the box of the Logographe, but during the three days we remained at the Feuillans, that being without money, as we had not carried any with us, we accepted that which was offered to us.

Q. How much did you receive? —*A.* Twenty-five Louis d'or, the same which were found in my pockets when I was conducted from the Temple to the Conciergerie: considering this debt as sacred, I kept them untouched, in order that I might return them to the person from whom I received them, in case I should see her.

Q. What is the name of that person? —*A.* Dame Auguel.

Another Witness called.

Jean Francois Lepetre, instructor, deposes, that he saw the accused at the Temple, when on duty there, as Commissioner of the Provisional Municipality, but that he never had any particular conversation with her, as she never spoke to him but in the presence of his colleagues.

Q. Did you never converse with her on politics? —*A.* Never.

Q. Did you not enable her to learn the news; by sending a hawker every day to cry the Journal de Soir near the Tower of the Temple? —*A.* No.

President.

President to the Accused. Have you any observations to make on the declaration of the witness?—*A.* I never had any conversation with the witness: on the other hand, there was no necessity for engaging hawkers to approach the Tower; I heard them sufficiently every day when they passed through the street de la Corderie.

A small packet being presented to the Accused, she declared it was the same on which she put her seal when she was removed from the Temple to the Conciergerie.

The packet being opened, the Register declared the contents of it as follows:—a packet of hair of different colours.

Accused. It is the hair of my children, dead and alive, and of my husband.

Another packet of hair.

Accused. It comes from the same individuals.

A paper, on which are cyphers.

Accused. It is a table for teaching my son arithmetic.

Different papers of little importance, such as washerwomen's bills, &c.

A parchment and paper port-folio, on which are written the names of different persons, respecting whose rank and situation the President desired the Accused to declare as follows, Who is the woman Salentin?—*A.* It is she who, for a long time, has been charged with all my affairs.

Q. Who is the young woman Vion?—*A.* It is she who had the care of what belongs to my children.

Q. And the Dame Chaumette?—*A.* It was she who succeeded the young woman Vion.

Q. What is the name of the woman who took care of your lace?—*A.* I do not know her name.—She was employed by the women Salentin and Chaumette.

2. Who is that Bernier, whose name is found here ?
—He is the physician who attended my children.

The *Public Accuser* demanded, that orders should be immediately given to bring the women Salentin, Vion, and Chaumette, before the Tribunal, and that the physician Bernier should only be summoned.

The Tribunal complied with this demand.

The Register continued to give an inventory of the effects.

A housewife, or a small port folio, with scissars, needles, silk, thread, &c.

A small mirror.

A gold ring, set with hair.

A paper, on which are two golden hearts, with initial letters.

Another paper, on which is written ; *Prayer to the sacred heart of Jesus ; prayer to the immaculate Conception.*

The portrait of a woman.

President. Whose portrait is this?—*A.* Of Madame Lamballe.

Two other portraits of women.

President. Who are the persons whom these portraits represent?—*A.* Two ladies with whom I was educated at Vienna.

President. What are their names?—*A.* The Ladies de Mecklenbourg and Hesse.

A rouleau of twenty-five Louis d'or.

Accused. These are the Louis d'or which were lent to me while we were at the Feuillans.

A small piece of cloth, on which is a flaming heart pierced with an arrow.

The Public Accuser requested Hebert to examine that heart,

heart, and declare whether he knew it to be the same which he said had been found at the Temple.

Hebert. This heart is not that which I found at the Temple, but it resembles it.

The Public Accuser observes, that among the accused who have been brought before the Tribunal as conspirators, and on whom the law has done justice, it had been remarked, that the greater part had carried about them these counter-revolutionary symbols.

Hebert observed, that he does not know that the women Salentin, Vion, and Chaumette, were employed at the Temple for the service of the prisoners.

Accused. They were in the beginning.

Public Accuser. Did you not order, some days after your escape on the 20th of June, dresses *de sœurs grises* ?

—*A.* I never gave any such orders.

Another Witness.

Philip Francis Gabriel Latour-du-Pin Gouvernet, formerly an officer in the service of France, deposes, that he has known the Accused since she has been in France, but he is acquainted with none of the facts contained in the act of accusation.

President. Did you not assist at the entertainments of the Palace ?—*A.* I never, as I may say, frequented the Court.

2. Were not you present at the entertainment of the *ci-devant* gardes-du-corps ?—*A.* I could not be present, as at that epoch I had the command in Burgundy.

President. What ! were you not Minister at that time ?

—*Witness.* I never was Minister, nor would I have accepted it, if those then in Office had made me an offer of such an appointment.

President to the Witness Lecointre.—Do you know the
witness

witness present to have been Minister at War in 1789—*Lecointre*. I know this witness was never Minister. He that was Minister at that time, is here now, and going to be examined.

The witness was ordered in.

Jean Frederic Latour Dupin, Officer and Ex-minister of War, deposes that he knows the prisoner, but nothing of the charges in her indictment.

President to the Witness. Were you Minister on the 1st of October 1789.—*Witness*. Yes, I was.

President. You no doubt at that time heard of the feast of the *ci-devant* Gardes-du-Corps?—*Witness*. Yes, I have.

President. Were you not Minister in the month of June 1789, when the troops arrived at Versailles?—*Witness*. No, I was then Deputy of the Assembly.

President. The Court apparently laid you under restrictions, in naming you Minister at War?—*Witness*. I do not think the Court did.

President. Where were you on the 23d of June, when the *ci-devant* King came to hold that famous Bed of Justice in the midst of the Representatives of the People?—*Witness*. I was at my place as Deputy to the National Assembly.

President. Do you know then who were the authors who framed the declaration of the King, then read to the assembly?—*Witness*. No, I do not.

President. Did you not hear say they were Linjuet, Espreménil, Barentin, Lally, Tollendal, Desmeuniers, Bergasse, or Thouret?—*Witness*. No.

President. Was you at the *ci-devant* King's Council on the 5th of October, 1789?—*Witness*. No, I was not.

President

President. Was d'Estaing there!—*Witness.* I did not see him there.

D'Estaing said, "Well then, my fight at that day was better than yours, for I remember perfectly well having seen you there."

The President to Latour Dupin, Ex-minister—Did you know that on that very day the 5th of October, the Royal Family were going to Rambouillet, and from thence to Metz?—*Witness.* I remember the question being deliberated that day in the Council, whether the King should go or not.

President. Do you know the names of those that were for his departure?—*Witness.* I do not know them.

President. What could be their motive for that departure?—*Witness.* The concourse of people arriving at Versailles, which gave rise to think that the prisoner was then going to be murdered.

President. What was the result of the deliberation of the Council?—*Witness.* That they should not go.

President. Where were they going?—*Witness.* To Rambouillet.

President. Did you at that time see the prisoner in the Castle.—*Witness.* Yes I did.

President. Did she not assist at the Council?—*Witness.* I did not see her in the Council, but only saw her enter the Cabinet of Louis XVI.

President. You say the Court was going to Rambouillet, but was it not rather to Metz?—*Witness.* No.

President. In your capacity as Minister, did you not order coaches to be in readiness, and troops to be on the road to protect the departure of Louis Capet?—*Witness.* No.

President.

President. We know, however, to a certainty, that apartments were fitted up, and every thing got ready at Metz for the reception of the Capet Family?—*Witness.* This I know nothing of.

President. Was it by the order of Antoinette that you sent your son to Nancy, there to direct the massacre of those brave foldiers who had incurred the hatred of the Court by shewing themselves Patriots?—*Witness.* I only sent my son to Nancy, to see the Decrees of the National Assembly executed there; of course I acted not by the orders of the Court, but agreeable to the wishes of the People. Even the Jacobins, at whose Assembly Mr Camus went to read the particulars of this affair, applauded it loudly.

A Jurymen. Citizen President, I desire you will observe to the Witness, that he must either be in error, or have bad intentions; because Camus never was a Member of the *Jacobins*; and that Society was very much displeased at the rigorous measures of a licentious faction, which had passed a Decree of arrest against the best citizens of Nancy.—*Witness.* That is what I heard say at the time.

President. Was it by Antoinette's orders you left the army in the state in which it was found?—*Witness.* I certainly do not expect a reproach on that head, as the French army, at the time of my resignation, was on a very respectable footing.

President. Was it to render it respectable, that you disbanded more than 30,000 Patriots, to whom you ordered yellow cartridges to be distributed, with a view to intimidate the defenders of their country, and prevent them from proving their patriotism and love of liberty?—*Witness.* This has nothing to do with the Minister;

the

the disbanding soldiers is not his business; the Colonels of the regiments have the ordering of that.

President. But you, as Minister, ought to make those Commanders of regiments render you an account of similar operations, in order to judge who was right or wrong?

—*Witness.* I do not believe there is one soldier who has any reason of complaint against me.

Labenette desired leave to mention a fact. He declared himself to be one of those that were honoured by the Minister with a yellow cartridge, signed by his hand; and that in the regiment in which he served, he remarked the aristocracy of the *Muscadins*, a number of whom were in the staff. He observes, that he, the deponent, was a subaltern officer, and that very likely Du Pin may remember his name to be Clairroyant, corporal of the regiment of ———.

La Tour Du Pin. Sir! I never heard of you!

President. Did not the prisoner, during your administration, desire you to deliver to her the exact state of the French army?—*Witness.* Yes.

President. Did she tell you what use she meant to make of it?—*Witness.* No.

President. Where is your son now?—*Witness.* He is either in a country seat near Bourdeaux, or at Bourdeaux.

President to the Prisoner. At the time you asked the Witness the state of the armies, was it not with a view to send it to the King of Bohemia and Hungary?—*Prisoner.* As that list was quite public, I had no occasion to send it him; the public papers were sufficient to make him acquainted therewith.

President. What were your reasons then for demanding it?—*Prisoner.* As there was a rumour that the Assembly was going to make considerable alterations in the army,

my, I was curious to have the list of the regiments intended to be suppressed.

President. Have you not abused the influence you had over your husband, in asking him continually for drafts on the public treasury?—*Prisoner.* I never did so.

President. Where did you then get the money to build and fit out the Petit Trianon, in which you gave feasts, of which you were always the Goddess?—*Prisoner.* There was a fund destined to that purpose.

President. This fund was then very considerable; for the Petit Trianon has cost enormous sums.—*Prisoner.* It is possible that the Petit Trianon may have cost immense sums; may be more than I wished. This expence was incurred by inches; in fact, I desire more than any one that every person may be informed what has been done there.

President. Was it not at the Petit Trianon that you saw for the first time the wife of La Motte?—*Prisoner.* I never saw her.

President. Was she not your victim in the affair of the famous necklace?—*Prisoner.* How could she be so, as I did not know her.

President. So you persist in denying that you ever knew her?—*Prisoner.* My intention is not to deny; I only speak the truth, and shall persist in so doing.

President. Was it not you that caused the Ministers and other Civil and Military Officers to be named?—*Prisoner.* No.

President. Had you not a list of the persons you wished to get places for, with notes framed in glass?—*Prisoner.* No.

President. Did you not force divers Ministers to name
to

to the vacant places those whom you had given them a list of?—*Prisoner*. No.

President. Did you not force the Minister of Finances to give you money; and some of them refusing to do so, have you not threatened them with all your indignation?

—*Prisoner*. No, never.

President. Have you not been teasing Vergennes to send six millions to the King of Bohemia and Hungary?

—*Prisoner*. No.

Another Witness examined.

Jean Francois Mathey, keeper of the Tower in the Temple, deposed, that on the occasion of a song, called, "*Ah! il s'en souviendra du retour de Varennes*," ("Ah! thou wilt remember thy returning from Varennes"), he said to Louis Charles Capet, "Dost thou remember the returning from Varennes?" to which the latter answered, "Oh! yes, I remember it well." That the witness having asked further, how they did to carry him away? he answered, "that they took him out of his bed when asleep, and they dressed him in girl's cloaths, saying, Come, you are going to Montmedy.

President to the Witness. Did you not observe during your residence in the Temple, a familiarity between some Members of the Committee and the prisoners?—*Witness*. Yes; I have even heard Toulon say one day to the prisoner, at the time of the new elections made for the new organization of the definitive Municipality, "Madam! I am not in repute, because I am a Gascon." I observed that L'Epitre and Toulon came frequently together; that they went up stairs directly, saying, "Let us go up, and we shall wait for our colleagues." Another day he saw Jobert hand some medallions to the prisoner. That the daughter of Capet let one fall to the ground and

H

broke

broke it. After which the deponent entered into the details of the history of the hat found in Elizabeth's room.

Prisoner. I have to observe the medallions mentioned by the witness were three in number; that which fell on the floor and was broken, was the portrait of Voltaire; of the other two, one represented Medea, and the other some flowers.

President to the Prisoner. Did you not give to Toulan a gold snuff-box?—*Prisoner.* No; neither to Toulan.

The witness Hebert observed, that a Justice of the Peace brought him to the Town-house a denunciation, signed by two Town Clerks of the Committee of Taxation, of which Toulan was the chief, proving the fact in the clearest manner.

Another witness examined.

Jean Baptiste Olivier Garnerin, ci-devant Secretary to the Commission of Twenty-four, deposed, that having been commissioned to examine and enumerate the papers found in the house of Septeuil, he found in these papers a check for 80,000 livres, signed Antoinette, to the profit of the *ci-devant* Polignac, with a note relating to one Lazaille; another paper proving that the prisoner had sold her diamonds, to send their produce to the Emigrants.

The deponent observed, that he delivered all these papers at the time to one Falaze, Member of the Commission, to frame the indictment against Louis Capet; but that he, the deponent, was very much surprised to find, that Falaze, in the report he made to the National Convention, never mentioned any thing of these papers signed Marie Antoinette.

President to the Prisoner. Have you any observations to make

make on the evidence of the witness?—*Prisoner*. I persist in saying, that I never gave nor signed any checks.

President. Do you know Lazaille?—*Prisoner*. Yes, I do.

President. How did you know him?—*Prisoner*. I know him to be a naval officer, and to have seen him at Court, as well as others.

Witness. I have to observe, that the papers I spoke of were after the dissolution of the Committee of Twenty-four, and were carried to the Committee of General Safety, where they must be still; because having met, within these few days, two of my colleagues employed with me in the Commission of Twenty-four, we spoke of the process that was going to be instituted against Marie Antoinette. I asked them what became of the papers in question? They said, they were deposited with the Committee of General Safety.

The witness Tillet begs of the President, to interrogate citizen Garnerin, to declare if he does not equally remember having seen among the papers found at Septeuil's, of purchases of sugar, coffee, corn, &c. &c. &c. having been made to the amount of two millions; out of which fifteen thousand livres were already paid; and whether he does not recollect that a few days after, these vouchers could not be found.

President to Garnerin. You just now heard the interrogatory. Be so good as to answer it.

Garnerin. I know nothing of this business; at the same time it is notorious that there were plenty of fore-stallers all over France to buy up any article, in order to enhance the price of it, and thereby to disgust the people with the Revolution and Liberty, and force them by this means to forego their own chains.

President

President to the Accused—"Have you any knowledge of the immense forestalling of commodities of the first necessity, made by order of the Court, to starve the people, and compel them to demand again for the former government, so favourable to tyrants?"

Prisoner. I have no knowledge whatever of any forestallings.

Another witness examined.

Charles Elconore Dufriche Valaze, formerly delegate to the National Assembly, deposes, that betwixt the papers found at M. Septeuil's, and which with others served to frame the indictment against Louis Capet deceased, and at the making out of which he himself co-operated, as a Member of the Commission of 24, he observed two of them relating to the prisoner.

The first was a check, or rather a receipt by her, signed for a sum of 15 or 20,000 livres, as near as he remembers; the other was a letter in which the Minister begs of the King to communicate to Marie Antoinette the plan of the campaign presented to him.

The President to the Witness. Why did you not speak of these vouchers when you made your report to the Convention?—*Witness*. I did not mention them, because I thought it superfluous to speak in the process of Louis Capet of acquittance of Antoinette.

President. Have you been a Member of the Commission of Twenty-four?—*Witness*. Yes, I have.

President. Do you know what became of these two vouchers?—*Witness*. The pieces which served to form the indictment against Louis Capet claimed by the Community of Paris, because they contained charges against sundry individuals, suspected to have had an intention to compromise with several Members of the National Convention,

Convention, in order to obtain decrees favourable to Louis Capet. I believe that all the vouchers have now been returned to the Committee of General Safety.

President to the Prisoner. What have you to answer to the depositions of this witness?—*Prisoner.* I know nothing, neither of the check nor the letter he mentions.

Public Accuser. It seems to be proved, notwithstanding your denials, that through your influence over the *ci-devant* king, your consort, you made him do what you pleased.—*Prisoner.* There is a wide difference between advising an action, and executing it.

Public Accuser. You mean to say, that from the declaration of the witness, it results, that the Ministers so well knew your influence over Louis Capet that one of them desired of him to communicate to you the plan of the campaign, he a few days before had presented to him. The consequence of which is, that you had entirely got master over his feeble character, and made him do any thing bad; for supposing even that of all your advices he followed the very best ones, you must be convinced within yourself, that he never could have made use of worse means to conduct France to the brink of destruction.—*Prisoner.* I never knew him to have that character you are speaking of.

Another witness examined.

Nicholas La Bauf, heretofore a Municipal Officer, protests against having any knowledge of the facts relating to the indictment; for, says he, "if I had observed any thing, I should have made you acquainted therewith."

President to the Witness. Did you ever converse with Louis Capet?—*Witness.* No.

President. Did you not, when you was on duty in the Temple, enter into conversation on political affairs with
your

your colleagues, and the prisoner !—*Witness.* I frequently conversed with my colleagues, but we did not speak of politics.

President. Did you frequently address Louis Charles Capet ?—*Witness.* Never.

President. Did you not offer him the New Telemaque to read ?—*Witness.* No.

President. Have you not manifested a desire to be his governor ?—*Witness.* No, never.

The Prisoner being interrogated to declare if she ever had any private conversation with the Witness, declares that she never spoke to him.

Another Witness called.

Augustin Germain Jobert, a Municipal Officer, and Administrator of the Police declares, that he has no knowledge whatever of any of the facts contained in the indictment against the prisoner.

President to the Witness. Have you not, during your time of service in the Temple, had some conferences with the prisoner ?—*Witness.* No, never.

President. Did you not shew her one day something curious ?—*Witness.* I have, in fact, shewn to the Widow Capet and her daughter, medallions in wax allegorical to the Revolution.

President. Was there not a man's portrait betwixt them ?—*Witness.* I do not believe there was.

President. For instance, the portrait of Voltaire ?—*Witness.* Yes—But I have in my house 4 or 5000 of these sort of medallions.

President. Why was the picture of Medea among the number ? Did you mean it as an allusion to the prisoner ?—*Witness.* It was all chance, I have so many of them. They are an article from England which I trade in,

in, and sell them to the merchants—*President*. Have you any knowledge that from time to time you and other Administrators had private conferences with the prisoner?—*Witness*. I know nothing of it.

President. And so you persist in saying, that you never had any private conferences with the prisoner?—*A*. Yes.

JOSEPH BOYS, a painter, declared, he had known the accused for eight years, as he took the portrait of the King, but he had never spoken to her. He then gave an account of the project of reconciliation between the People and the *ci-devant* King, by the intervention of Thierry, Valet-de-Chambre of Louis Capet.

The Queen drew from her pocket a paper, which she gave to one of her Defenders.

The Public Accuser demanded Antoinette to declare, what was the paper she had given him?—*Queen*. Hebert said this morning, that correspondence was carried on by the means of our clothes and shoes. I wrote, for fear of forgetting, that all our clothes and effects were examined when they came near us, which was done by the Administrators of the Police.

Hebert observed, that there was no foundation for this declaration, but because the number of shoes was very considerable, or fourteen or fifteen pairs a month.

Dedier Jourdeuil, Serjeant, declared, that in the month of September 1792, he found a string of papers in the house of Affry, in which was a letter from Antoinette that contained these words: "Can we trust the Swifs! will they be firm when it may be necessary?"—*Queen*. I never wrote to Affry.

The public Accuser observed, that last year, being Director of the Jury of Accusation near the Tribunal of the 17th of August, he was entrusted with the drawing
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up of the process against Affry and Cuzotte; that he perfectly well recollects having seen the letter of which the witness speaks; that the faction of Roland having caused this Tribunal to be suppressed, got the papers removed by means of a Decree which they procured, notwithstanding the objections of all good Republicans.

President. What were the papers which were burnt at the manufacture of Serve?—*Queen.* I believe it was a Bible; as for the rest, I was not consulted about it; I was told of it afterwards.

President. How can you be ignorant of this fact? Was it Riston who was charged with the negotiation of this affair?—*Queen.* I never heard any thing of Riston; and I persist in saying, that I did not know La Motte: if I had been consulted, I would have opposed the burning of papers against me.

Another Witness was called:

Pierre Fontaine, wood-merchant, declared himself ignorant of every part of the accusation, knowing the prisoner only by reputation, and having no connexion with the late Court.

President to the Witness. How long have you known Michonis?—*Witness.* About fourteen years.

President. What is the name of the individual who dined with you in company with Michonis?—*Witness.* His name is Rougy; I do not remember any thing about him; he was introduced by Madame Dutibleul.

President. How do you know that Lady?—*Witness.* I once met her with another woman on the Boulevards; we entered into conversation, and drank-coffee together; since that time, she has been often at my house.

President. Has she not committed to you some secrets?
—*Witness.* Never.

President.

resident. What are the names of the Deputies who were found with Rougy and Michonis?—*Witness.* There was only one.

President. His name?—*Witness.* Santerreau, Deputy from Nievre to the Convention, and two other Commissioners, sent by the Primary Assemblies of the same Department to carry their Act of the Acceptance of the Constitution.

President. What are their names?—*Witness.* Balendnot, Curé of Beaumont, Paulmier, also of that Department.

President. Do you know what is become of Rougy?
Witness. No.

Another Witness was called.

Michael Gointre, employed in the War-office, said he had read attentively the act of Accusation, and was much surprized not to find in it the article of the forged Assignats of Passy. As Polverel, who had been ordered to inquire into this affair, answered, it was impossible for him to proceed, unless the Assembly decreed, that no person but the King was inviolable; this made him imagine that there was no other person than the Accused about whom Polverel wished to speak, as she alone could furnish the funds necessary for such an enterprize.

Witness Tisset. Citizen President, I wish the Prisoner to be asked to declare, if she did not give the Cross of St Louis and a Captain's brevet to a person named Lareguie?—*Queen.* I know none of that name.

President. Did you not procure the nomination of Collet de Verriere to serve in the *ci-devant* Guard of the late King?—*Queen.* Yes.

President. Did you not procure Pariseau a similar appointment?—*Queen.* No.

President. You so influenced the organization of the
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late Royal Guard, that it was composed only of individuals against whom the public opinion was directed ; and, indeed, could the Patriots behold without pain the chief of the nation surrounded with guards composed of non-juring priests and assassins ? Happily your policies were wrong : their anti-civic conduct, their counter-revolutionary sentiments, forced the Legislative Assembly to dismiss them ; and Louis Capet, after that operation, kept them in pay till the 10th of August, when he was overturned in his turn.

On your marriage with Louis Capet, did you not conceive the project of re-uniting Lorraine to Austria ?—

A. No.

President. You bear its name ?—*A.* Because we ought to bear the name of one's country.

President. After the affair of Nanci, did you not write to Bouille, to congratulate him on his having massacred seven or eight thousand Patriots in that town ?—*A.* I never wrote to him.

President. Did you not employ yourself in founding the opinion of the departments, districts, and Municipalities ?

—*A.* No.

The public Accuser observed to the prisoner, that there was found upon her Secretary a paper which attests that fact in the most precise manner, and in which were found inscribed the names of Vaublanc and Jancourt.

The said paper being read, the Queen persisted in saying, that she did not recollect that she had ever written any thing of the kind.—*Witness.* I should request, citizen President, that the Accused may be obliged to declare, whether, on the day the people did her husband the honour of decorating him with the red bonnet, there was not held a nocturnal council in the palace, where the destruction

struction of Paris was resolved, and where it was decided to post up royal bills by Esmenard, Rue Piatrière—

Queen. I do not know that name.

President. Did you not, on the 9th of August, 1792, give your hand to Tassin of Etang to kiss, who was captain of the armed force of the Filles Saint Thomas—in saying to his battalion, “You are brave fellows, and of good principles; I will ever count on your fidelity?”—

Queen. No.

President. Why did you, who had promised to bring up your children for the principles of the Revolution, teach them nothing but errors, in treating, for instance, your son with a respect which might make it believed that you thought of seeing him one day the successor of the *ci-devant* King his father?—*Queen.* He was too young to speak to on that subject. I placed him at the head of the table, to give him myself what he wanted.

President. Have you any thing to add to your defence?—*Queen.* Yesterday I did not know the witnesses; I knew not what they were to depose against me; and no body has produced against me any positive fact. I finish by observing, that I was only the wife of Louis XVI. and it was requisite in me to conform myself to his will.

The President announced, that the Interrogatories were closed.

Fouquier, the Public Accuser, now spoke—He reminded the Jury of the flagitious conduct of the late French Court,—of its constant machinations against Liberty, which it did not like, and the destruction of which it sought to encompass at any rate—its efforts to kindle Civil War, in order to turn its result to its own advantage, by appropriating to itself this Machiavelian maxim, *Divide to reign!*—its criminal and culpable connections

nections with the foreign powers with whom the Republic is at open War—its habits of intimacy with a villainous faction, which was devoted to it, and seconded its designs, by exciting in the bosom of the Convention animosities and dissensions, by employing all possible means to ruin Paris, and arming the Departments against that city; and by incessantly calumniating the generous inhabitants of that city, the mother and preserver of Liberty—the massacres perpetrated by the orders of that corrupted Court in the principal towns of France, especially at Montauban, Nîmes, Arles, Nanci, in the Champ de Mars, &c. &c. He considered Marie Antoinette the avowed enemy of the French Nation—as the principal instigatrix of the troubles which had taken place in France for these four years past, and of which thousands of French-men fell victims.

Chauveau and Troufon-Ducondray, officially appointed by the Tribunal to defend Antoinette, acquitted themselves of that duty, and solicited the clemency of the Tribunal. They were heard with the most profound silence.

The Queen was then taken out of the Hall.

HERMAN, President of the Tribunal now spoke, and summoned up the evidence in the following manner :

“ Citizens of the Jury, the French Nation, by its organ, the Public Accuser, has accused before the National Jury Marie Antoinette of Austria, widow of Louis Capet, of having been the accomplice, or rather instigatrix of most of the crimes of which the late Tyrant of France was found guilty—of having herself kept up a secret understanding with powerful foreign Nations, especially with the King of Bohemia and Hungary, her brother—with the *ci-devant* Emigrant French Princes,
and

and traitorous Generals—with having furnished the enemies of the Republic with supplies of money, and of having conspired with them against the external and internal security of the State.

“ A great example is this day given to the universe, and it will surely not be lost upon the Nations which inhabit it. Nature and reason, so long outraged, are satisfied at last, and Equality is triumphant.

“ A woman who lately occupied all the most brilliant prestiges which the pride of Kings and the baseness of Slaves could invent, occupies now, before the Tribunal of the Nation, the place which was occupied two days ago by another woman; and this Equality secures impartial Justice.

“ This trial, Citizens of the Jury, is not one of those where a single fact, a single crime, is submitted to your conscience and your knowledge. You have to judge all the political life of the accused ever since she came to sit by the side of the last King of the French; but you must, above all, fix your deliberation upon the manœuvres which she never an instant ceased to employ to destroy rising Liberty, either from within the kingdom, by her close connexions with infamous Ministers, perfidious Generals, and faithless representatives of the people, or from without the kingdom, by causing the negotiation of that monstrous Coalition of the despots of Europe, which history holds up to ridicule for impotence—in short, by her correspondence with the *ci-devant* Emigrant French Princes, and their worthy Agents.

“ Had we wished for an oral proof of all these deeds, the prisoner ought to have been made to appear before the whole French Nation. The material proof rests in the papers seized in the abode of Louis Capet, enumerated

ed in a report made to the National Convention by Gohier, one of its Members, in the collection of the justificatory pieces of the Act of Accusation passed against Louis Capet by the Convention; lastly and chiefly, Citizens of the Jury, in the political events of which you have all been witnesses and judges.

“ If it were permitted to me, in fulfilling a limited office, to give myself up to emotions which the passion of humanity imposes, we should have invoked before the Jury the names of our brothers at Nanci, at the Champ de Mars, at the Frontiers, at La Vendee, at Marfeilles, at Lyons, at Toulon, in consequence of the infernal machinations of this modern Medicis: we should have brought before you the fathers, the mothers, the wives and infants of those unhappy Patriots!—What do I say? Unhappy?—They have died for Liberty, and faithful to their Country. All those families, in tears and despair, would have accused Antoinette of having snatched from them every thing that was most dear to them in the world, and the deprivation of which renders life insupportable.

“ In effect, if the satellites of Austrian despotism have broke in for a moment on our Frontiers, and if they have there committed atrocities of which the history of even barbarous Nations does not furnish a parallel example—if our Ports, our Plains, and our Cities, are sold or given up, is it not evidently the result of the manœuvres planned at the Thuilleries, and of which Marie Antoinette was at once the instigatrix and the moving principle? These, Citizens Jurors, are the public events which form the mass of proof that overwhelms Marie Antoinette.

“ With regard to the declarations which were made in bringing on this Trial, and the debates which have taken place, there result from them certain facts, which
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come directly in proof of the principal Accufation brought againft the widow Capet.

“ All the other details, given either as a hiftory of the Revolution, or in the proceedings againft certain notorious perfonages, and fome treacherous Public Functionaries, vanifh before the charge of High Treafon, which weighs heavily upon Antoinette of Austria, widow of the *ci-devant* King.

“ There is one general obfervation to be attended to —namely, that the Accufed has owned that fhe had the confidence of Louis Capet.

“ It is evident, too, from the declaration of Valaze, that Antoinette was confulted in political affairs, fince the late King was defirous that fhe fhould be confulted upon fome plan, of which the Witnefs could not tell the object. One of the Witneffes, whole precifion and ingenuity are remarkable, has told you that the late Duke of Coigny had told him in 1788, that Antoinette had lent the Emperor, her brother, 200 millions, to enable him to carry on the war which he then waged againft the Turks.

“ Since the Revolution, a bill of between 60 and 80,000 livres, figned Antoinette, and drawn upon Septeuil, has been given to the woman Polignac, then an Emigrant ; and a letter from La Porte recommended it to Septeuil, not to leave behind the leaft trace of that gift.

“ Lecointre of Verfailles told you, as an ocular witnefs, that fince the year 1779, enormous fums had been expended at Court, for the *fetes* of which Marie Antoinette was always the idol.”

Here the Public Accufer went through the charges of the firft of October, when an orgy was given by the life
Guards

Guards—the flight to Varennes—the Massacre of the Swiss on the 10th of August—and, coming to the conduct of the Queen since her imprisonment in the Temple, he concluded as follows :

“ The persons whose business it was to superintend in the Temple, always remarked in Antoinette an air of rebellion against the Sovereignty of the People. They seized an image representing an heart ; and that image is a sign of ralliement, which was worn almost upon all the Counter-Revolutionists who came within the grasp of national vengeance.

“ After the Tyrant’s death, Antoinette observed in the Temple, with regard to her Son, all the etiquette of the ancient Court. The Son of Capet was treated as a King. In all domestic occurrences he had the precedence before his mother. At table he sat at the upper end, and was served first.

“ I shall forbear, Citizens of the Jury, to mention here the interview of the Chevalier de St Louis—of the carnation-flower left in the apartment of the Accused—of the pricked paper given or rather prepared, for an answer. This incident is a mere gaol-intrigue, which can figure in such a grand Act of Accusation.

“ I conclude by a general reflection, which I had already an opportunity of presenting :—It is the French Nation which accuses Antoinette ; all the political events prove evidence against her.

“ These are the questions which the Tribunal has determined to submit to you :

1st Is it proved, that there existed machinations and private intelligence with powerful Foreign States, and other external enemies of the Republic ; such machinations and intelligences tending to furnish succours in money,